PAMPHLET No. 1

Egypt's War Effort

A Reply

To The Charges Of

The American Christian Palestine Committee

By

AHMAD HUSSEIN

Leader of The Young Egypt Party

MARCH 1947

"The Egyptian Government have, we feel, acted rightly and wisely in deciding to declare war on Germany and Japan and to sign the United Nations declaration. We did not press the Egyptian Government at any time to come into the war, and indeed upon more than one occasion in the past our advice has been to the contrary. There were evident advantages in sparing the populous and famous city of Cairo from wholesale bombardment and we have been content with the attitude of Egypt as a co-belligerent. Egyptian troops have during the war played an important part. They have maintained order throughout the Delta, they have guarded many strong points and depots, and in all kinds of ways they have been of assistance to our war effort, wich was once again proved successful in shielding the fertile land of the delta from the shock of the foreign invader. We have had every facility from Egypt under our treaty of alliance, and successive Egyptian prime ministers and governments have given us support in the manner which we deemed to be the most effective. Egypt is an associated power and she should take her rightful place as a future member of the world organization and as one of its founders when the occasion is reached at San Francisco at the end of April."

From Churchill's speech to the House of Commons, February 27, 1945, on the results of the Yalta Conference.

"Now that our efforts in North Africa have come to a successful conclusion, I would like to thank you for the collaboration and assistance given to the military authorities during our campaign in Libya. The great assistance rendered by the Egyptian army have made easier for the Empire armies under my command the task of defending Egypt against the aggression of the enemy."

General Wavell, on January 28, 1941 to Egyptian Premier.

A few weeks ago I came to this country to place before its people the case of my people. I have come to a people which sent its sons twice across the sea in defense of liberty and the rights of man. I came to this great country to demand for my own country the same liberty which the American people value and love so much. For my country, too, is a great country. It is the mother of civilizations and cultures, a standard-bearer of peace and human brotherhood.

I WAS SURPRISED!

It was a source of surprise for me, as I landed on your soil, to come across a pamphlet entitled *The Arab War Effort, A Documented Account.* I had not gotten far in reading this pamphlet before I realized the real intent of those who wrote it. I feel pity for them in that they only harm themselves and do a dis-service to the cause for which they are strivng. Lying and deceit were never at any time the weapon of those who fight for a good cause. The authors of that pamphlet have wronged themselves rather than the Arabs whom they attack.

They have issued their pamphlet and distributed it throughout the country with the complacent feeling that none from the distant lands of the Arabs will rise to call their lies. But truth must out, and in reply I will devote myself to the effort of the Egyptians, since as an Egyptian my name appeared in the pamphlet.

When the reader finds how untruthful the accusations against Egypt are, he can make his own deductions about the other parts relating to other parts of the Arab world. Let me first reproduce here the section on Egypt in the pamphlet:

Egypt and the War:

The declaration of war by Italy was of direct concern to Egypt, which had a common frontier with the Italian North African colonies. The Egyptian Government, however, did not reply with a counter-declaration of war but contented itself with the severence of diplomatic relations. It allowed the Italian diplomatic corps and some thirty-five other Italian nationals to leave Egyptian territory unescorted. The British request to have their documents examined was not acceded to by Ali Maher, then the Egyptian Prime Minister. Numbers of Italians in Egypt were interned, but one suspected spy was granted Egyptian citizenship (he was an official at the Egyptian Royal Court). The pro-Italian tendencies of King Faruk were well-known—it was not without reason that Victor Emmanuel when deposed chose to live in Egypt.

A similar attitude was maintained by Egypt towards Vichy France. The Egyptian Government broke off diplomatic relations in 1942, only as a result of British pressure.

Hostility was shown towards political refugees who escaped to Egypt from German-occupied countries. When King George of Greece reached Egypt, the Government submitted to a German ultimatum and forced him to leave, even though such action was not obligatory by international law.

The anti-British and pro-Fascist sympathies of the Egyptian Court were well-known to the public in Egypt and in Arab countries. Anti-British sentiment ran high in the Egyptian press. The Egyptian Parliament also took up an aggressively anti-British attitude. Not infrequently anti-British allegations levelled in the Egyptian Parliament and press were those broadcast the night before by the Arabic radio of Berlin or Rome, Bari or Athens. The British were accused of eating up the supplies of the country and causing starvation among the poor, despite the fact that hundreds of millions of pounds sterling were spent by the British in Egypt (in military construction, etc.) and that thousands of starving fellaheen were employed and paid high wages by the British Army. Some 350,000,000 pounds — almost one and a half billion dollars — were spent by the Allies in Egypt during the war. Yet, the British were blamed even for the Egyptian cotton crisis despite the fact that had they not purchased the entire crop—and at a price forced up in the bargaining—not a bale would have been sold. They were

held responsible for the German air bombings of Egyptian cities. These accusations always culminated in the demand that the British Army evacuate Egypt immediately and forever.

The anti-British campaign led to acts of petty obsruction and sabotage. British soldiers were attacked and sometimes killed in the streets of Egyptian towns. The greater part of the Cairo "native quarter" was out of bounds to troops. The man who murdered Amin Osman Pasha in December, 1945, confessed that in 1940, he had been connected with the assassination of British troops.

Active sympathy with the Axis was expressed in public demonstrations whenever the German forces approached Egyptian territory. This feeling was largely traceable to organized Fascist and Fifth column activities. The principal center in Egypt was the Fascist Misr al-Fatat organization. Its leaders were detained in 1940, but the young men in its ranks continued to apply the doctrines of their "Fuehrer," Ahmad Husein. Groups of students of Al-Azhar University, too, formed a center of anti-British feeling and some of them were active in the ranks of the Fifth Column.

The most important function of the Fifth Column was the transmission of intelligence to the Germans and Italians. The Arabic broadcasters of the Berlin and Bari radio stations, listened to with great interest and confidence in all Arab countries, were frequently in a position to give political and even military information about events in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq, on the evening of the day they occurred, with details which, though grotesquely exaggerated, indicated first-hand knowledge. On several occasions secret wireless transmitters were discovered in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine. In Palestine the police discovered a secret transmitter in an Arab orange grove, the owners and operators of which are still in detention.

Under Ali Maher, the Egyptian Government had pronounced anti-British tendencies. In the summer of 1941, it became known that Salih Harb Pasha, Ali Maher's Minister of Defense, had handed Italian Military Intelligence the secret plans of Egypt's defenses, as well as British military information communicated to the Egyptian Government. Ali Maher himself and the Egyptian Chief of Staff, Aziz Ali al-Masri, were suspected of complicity. This revelation led the British to secure the detention of Ali Maher, Salih Harb and others. They were

released in 1944 and 1945.

As for Aziz Ali al-Masri, his dsmissal had long been demanded by the British authorities. All that Ali Maher had done was to give him a protracted leave. Al-Masri came into the limelight again on May 12, 1941, during the anti-British coup in Iraq, when he attemped to reach the Axis lines in an Egyptian plane. He made a forced landing on Egyptian territory, whereupon he was at last arrested. He was released in 1945, but rearrested in January, 1946, in connection with the assassination of Amin Osman Pasha. Al Masri was not the only one. A military trial was held recently of an officer of the Royal Egyptian Air Force, Salim Radwan, who with his friend Muhamad Abu as-Saud, flew to the Axis camp in an Egyptian airplane on July 7, 1942. Salim was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment; his friend has not yet been traced.

It is common knowledge that in February, 1942, the British had to use force to compel the Egyptian court to appoint a Government from which some measure of loyalty to the British cause might be expected. According to a description of the events of that time later published in Akhbar el Yom, British tanks with their guns trained, surrounded the Abdin Palace, and thousands of fully armed troops patrolled the neighborhood. One tank forced the palace gate and was followed by the British Ambassador, Lord Killearn, and the Commander of British troops in Egypt. The Royal bodyguard was overpowered, and fully armed officers accompanied the Ambassador to the King's study. The Palace telephone lines were cut, while police stations and the broadcasting station were surrounded by the British. While the palace was still besieged, the King summoned party leaders and elder statesmen and declared: "You have seen the British tanks. I think you will therefore agree that it is in the country's interest to accept the ultimatum for a change of government." Nahas Pasha was then called to form a new Government. He stated later: "Those who were then in power were convinced of the Axis victory and backed the wrong horse. Relations with the British had become strained in the extreme. There were street demonstrations against England with crowds shouting 'Forward Rommel!' "

Though, like his predecessors, he did not have his country declare war on the Axis, Nahas Pasha succeeded in preventing assaults on British officers and soldiers, and in putting an end to acts of sabotage against lines of communcation, but even this he achieved only by arresting and detaining hundreds of

Egyptians: politicians, officers, students and officials.

The successive heads of the Egyptian Government—Ali Maher, Hasan Sabri, Husein Sirri and Mustafa Nahas—had all repeatedly announced that they would declare war as soon as any Italian or German military force set foot on Egyptian territory, but they all refrained from doing so, even when the Axis armies had marched far into Egyptian territory. Instead of responding to the bombardment of Egyptian cities with a declaration of war, the Egyptian Government repeatedly urged the British military authorities to evacuate Cairo and to declare it an open city. When the B.B.C. announced in 1942 that Egypt was about to declare war and contribute half a million men to fight the Axis, Nahas Pasha himself hastened to deny the report; he asked the Spanish Ambassador to inform the Axis Governments of his denial and to assure them that Egypt would preserve its neutrality.

The Egyptian Army was entrusted with certain guard duties in Egypt, but was "relieved" even of these during the critical period of El-Alamein. Nahas Pasha requested that in the event of a German conquest of Alexandria the British should abandon all further defense of strongholds in Egypt, in order to spare the Egyptian people unnecessary suffering. There are grounds for believing that orders to this effect were in fact gven to the Commands of the British Eighth and Ninth Armies.

Apart from the regular Egyptian Army, a "Territorial Army" was formed under Abdul Rahman Azzam. Since this leader was known to be connected with Ali Maher, the British military authorities had reason to fear that this "Army," originally intended as an auxiliary to the British forces in Egypt, might become the nucleus of an anti-British force and Fifth Column. They repeatedly demanded its dissolution which took place only after prolonged efforts on their part.

The only Egyptian statseman who openly and consistently urged that it was Egypt's duty to declare war on Germany was Ahmed Maher Pasha. During his premiership war was finally declared on the eve of the San Francisco conference in February, 1945. Immediately after announcing the decision to the Egyptian Chamber, Ahmed Maher, on his way to repeat the announcement in the adjoining Senate, was shot dead by an Egyptian lawyer who, as late as February, 1945, still believed that Hitler would win.

WHOM WOULD YOU BELIEVE?

Let the reader compare this passage, which is reproduced literally, with the words from the official speech by Churchill and Wavell with which we prefaced our reply. I leave it to the American people to choose which to believe, Churchill who led the English nation throughout the war, who headed the English Government which was dealing with Egypt, or those whose main aim is to incite the Amreican people against the Arabs, thinking that in so doing they will successfully help their own cause. I could have stopped here, content with this refutation from the official words of Churchill, but I wish to discuss the question at more length to enlighten the reader on the particular conditions and circumstances which gave rise to the false accusations levelled against my country, my party and me personally.

NATURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ENGLAND:

It is impossible to have a correct perspective of this whole question without a bird's eye view of the relations between Egypt and England, and that they were not the relations of an ally with an ally, but those of a usurper with one usurped. Egypt is the most ancient country in the world. Its civilization goes back to the dawn of history. In the nineteenth century Egypt took heroic steps to keep up with the progress of the world. The digging of the Suez Canal, which linked the West with the East, was a manifestation of this awakening. No sooner the Suez Canal was ready for use, however, than England decided to get hold of it and to occupy Egypt. In 1882 England found the right opportunity to accomplish its end when the Egyptian people rose against their government demanding certain constitutional reforms. This revolt resulted in a divsion among the people. The English took advantage of this opportunity and landed in Egypt on the pretext of establishing peace and order and then withdrawing without

delay. The English however, did not withdraw, but extended their domination further and further. And because the whole world recognized this as an act of aggression. England started to appease each of the big powers in turn in order to buy them off. Egypt did not keep silent. She fought back. Her weapon was a moral one, protest against the aggressor, boycott of his policy, refusing cooperation with the aggressor and agittating against him outside her country, Egyptian nationalism accomplished all this, registering for Egypt of the most brilliant chapters in the history of national struggle.

EGYPT IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR:

At the opening of the first world war the English declared Egypt a protectorate. It was an illegal measure, for a protectorate must rest on a bilateral agreement, but the English at no time showed great respect for international law when it conflicted with their interests. Consequently England simply proclaimed to the world that Egypt had come under its protection. The English had nothing to fall back upon except force—steel and fire. Nevertheless, during that war England made more promises to the Egyptians should they help her in wining it. On the strength of those promises the Egyptians sided with England against the Turks who were their coreligionists. Both Egyptians and Turks were ruled by a Caliph, supreme religious leader of all the Moslems. A million Egyptian laborers worked in the battle theatres, and the whole of Egypt was at the service of the English, helping in the war effort. The Allies won, due greatly to America's entry into the war. It was during that war, that President Wilson proclaimed his new gospel, vindicating the rights of man, as an individual and as communities, the principle of self-determination, the sanctity of the individual as a human being, regardless of race, color or religion.

REVOLT OF 1919:

Egypt demanded anew its right to liberty and independence, a natural right backed now by new promises and pledges made by the English themselves in compliance with the Wilsonian principles. England, however, discarded all this after the war. She countered the aroused feelings of the Egyptians with steel and fire, arresting their leaders and shooting down their young men. As a result, the revolt of 1919 broke out. It took the English until 1922 to quell that revolt. In that year they declared the termination of the protectorate over Egypt, recognizing it as a sovereign state with a constitution, a parliament and diplomatic representation abroad.

This superficial change, however, although it succeeded in putting down the revolt and the confusion which followed, did not affect the fundamental issue, which was the evacuation of Egypt and the Sudan. The struggle between Egypt and England started all over again, waxing at times and then waning under the pressure of force and terrorism, until in 1935 the boiler of Egyptian wrath burst once more, and another revolt in the land threathened the English, who hastened to quell it by making a treaty with Egypt carrying out some of the aims and demands of the Egyptian people.

THE TREATY OF 1936:

England finally succeeded in concluding a treaty with Egypt in which the English pledged to withdraw from the mainland of Egypt after eigth years from the signing of the treaty, and that they will make their stay in designated spots in the Canal zone thereafter for another period of twelve years. In exchange Egypt would become an ally in time of peace, promising not to follow a policy contrary to England, and that in case of war Egypt will extend England all possible assistance, including the placing of its means of communi-

cations, harbors and air bases, at the disposal of the British and offering the British all the facilities needed in her war efforts, declaring martial law in the land and imposing censorship of the press, mail, wire and telephone conversations.

Needless to say the English succeeded in accomplishing with that treaty all they had always aspired to do, namely that the Egyptians legalize England's status in the Valley of the Nile.

And since the treaty did not realize the fundemental demand of the Egyptians, the evacuation of the English from the Valley of the Nile, unconditionally and unreservedly, the Egyptian people, unlike their government which signed the treaty, have regarded it null and void, because it was made under duress and because it did not satisfy the country's demands. The Young Egypt Party and the Nationalist Party were among those which raised the banner of opposition to this treaty from the day it was signed. The struggle between the Egyptian people and the English started once more. The issue was again complete liberty and independence for the Egyptian people, the natural right of every people, great or small.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR:

As we said before, the Egyptian people were discontented with this treaty, and public opinion repudiated it, pressing for the evacuation of Egypt by the English at any price. Young Egypt was at the front fighting for the realization of this aim. When the war broke out, the Egyptians hoped that England, in order to win them to her side, would hasten to promise to withdraw at the end of the war and to carry out the Egyptian demand for the unity of the Nile Valley. Had England done so, the whole of Egypt would have risen as one man to fight by her side in all the theatres of the war. For then the fight would be in defense of Egypt's liberty and its future, a thing which the Egyptians realized could not

be accomplished except by a victory of the English. But England did nothing of the sort. She closed her ears against any plea of this nature. On the contrary, she considered any discussion of the complete independence of Egypt or the unity of the Nile after the war as a hostile act against her, and as an act of friendship with the Axis. She looked upon every word in favor of independence with malice and suspicion.

It was fortunate for Egypt to have had at that time a ministry of patriotic men, headed by Ali Maher Pasha, and composed of such men as Salih Harb Pasha, Abdul-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Aziz al-Misri Pasha, and others who had distinguished themselves in their defense of the freedom of Egypt and Sudan. It was also unfortunate for Egypt that at the same time a British reactionary, who believed in the tradition of pomp and show of force, was the one to represent Britain in Cairo. He took advantage of the war to impose his personal will on Egypt, doing great harm to the Anglo-Egyptian relations which were not at their best under the circumstances.

This was the true situation between England and Egypt during the second world war. It was a situation which would have called for open enmity against England, even declaration of war. But Egypt, on the contrary, was of greatest help to England in winning its immortal victory at Alamein, as we shall presently see from a survey of some of Egypt's war efforts, as summarized by Mr. Churchill in the opening paragraph of this paper.

BREAKING OFF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY:

No sooner was the war declared between England and Germany, on the 3rd of September, 1939, than Egypt broke off her relations with Germany—on the 4th of September, 1939, exactly twenty-four hours after the war was declared. This was more than some of the dominions did, following suit only after a considerable time, as in the case of South

Africa and Canada, while Ireland, England's next door neighbor and part of its defense system, kept up her political relations with Germany to the last minute.

It was therefore deceiving for the authors of the pamphlet, *The Arab War Effort*, to say that Egypt did not declare war on Germany until February of 1945, when the war was drawing to an end and victory was certain. It is a fraud to report the declaration of war by Egypt in this fashion, which would mislead the reader who does not know the full details that Egypt came in at the last, as some nations actually did, whereas Egypt began its active warfare against Germany on September 4, 1939. The pamphlet admits this when it states that "at the beginning of hostilities the Arab states did break off diplomatic relations with Germany." It is referring here naturally to Egypt and Iraq, for no other Arab states at that time had any diplomatic relations with Germany.

STATE OF WAR:

One may think that the matter stopped with the breaking off of diplomatic relations, which would not be considered of the nature of warfare. The truth is that Egypt did not stop there. It arrested Germans who were in Egypt, seized their property and put it in custody. This, with the breaking off of relations meant nothing less than the declaration by Egypt of a state of war with Germany. Nor was this all, for the Egyptian people began to feel the heavy hand of the war almost a few hours after it was declared, even before the English people felt it. Martial law was declared, as also censorship of the press, wires, speeches, and even personal telephone conversations. Military orders went out to commandeer everything needed by the British military authorities. Before a week passed, the whole of Egypt was in the service of the British military. All means of communication, telephone and telegraph facilities, harbors, etc., as stipulated by the treaty, were placed at the disposal of the Allied war efforts. The

prison doors were opened wide to receive those whom the British authorities wished to thrust there, not only aliens or enemies, but Egyptians themselves.

ITALY DECLARES WAR:

Until Italy entered the war, there was no fighting in Egypt itself or on its western borders, or anywhere near it. Nevertheless Egypt went ahead with its preparations. It was thought that Italy would immediately attack Egypt and invade it. Egypt was prepared to repulse Italian aggression. But Mussolini surprised the world then when he announced that in the case of certain countries adjoining Italy, he will not attack them unless they attacked first. Egypt eventually was one of those countries designated. Here the whole war situation changed completely, demanding a new policy. The English, who were hardest pressed after the fall of France, had not completed their military preparations for the defense of Egypt and had not hoped to receive reinforcements in any near future. England was busy day and night arming its home defense to protect herself, threatened as she was by sudden attacks every hour. It was not to anyone's interest to fan the flame of war in Africa, nor was Egypt itself prepared to wage a modern war, thanks to the English policy which always stood in the way of Egypt's desire to have an adequate army and adequate defense. These circumstances, taken altogether, explain why Egypt was in no hurry to declare war on Italy directly, and that it was best for Egypt to have postponed its declaration of war.

NEVERTHELESS . . .

Even though Egypt did not formally declare war on Italy, she declared it in fact, when she broke off diplomatic relations with her. It is therefore not worthy of our attention to reply to the charge in the anti-Arab pamphlet that Egypt

"allowed the Italian diplomatic corps and some thirty-five other Italian nationals to leave Egyptian territory unmolested." It is futile to reply to such an attack, for we know that when diplomatic relations are broken off all political representatives and their attaches are treated with utmost consideration until the last one of them safely crosses the borders. This international courtesy applies to both sides and is everywhere well respected.

Immediately after Egypt broke off its relations with the Fascist Government it proceeded to intern the Italians in Egypt, who constitute some of Egypt's largest colonies, some ninety thusand in Cairo and Alexandria. And since many of them were in business and in important positions, especially in engineering and technical companies, it was impossible to intern them all at once, without threatening the country with an industrial catastrophe, even the war industries themselves.

There were even rumors about the secret preparations of the Italians in Egypt itself, who, it was said, may start a revolt at the first attempt to attack them. All this made the Egyptian Government resort to caution and tact in handling this situation. In a few weeks, however, every Italian under suspicion was interned, and before a few months had passed every Italian and German male was in the internment camps.

AND JAPAN . . .

When Japan made its treacherous attack of Pearl Harbor, and as a consequence the United States and Japan were at war, Egypt reacted promptly. In less than twenty-four hours the few Japanese who were in Egypt were put in concentration camps, and all Japanese properties and possessions were seized. All relations between Egypt and Japan were broken off. Thus once more Egypt was in fact fighting on the side of the Allies. This is not to mention its breaking off relations with Romania and Hungary.

BREAKING OFF RELATIONS WITH VICHY:

Nothing, however, displays the ignorance and contradictions in the pamphlet more than when its authors try to deride Egypt for its failure to break off relations with the Vichy Government, claiming that Egypt only did so finally under pressure by the British. The truth is those relations remained intact purposely in the interest of the British themselves, and were finally broken off when there was no further need of keeping them up. The authors seem to have forgottn that the United States, after it entered the war, kept up its diplomatic relations with the Vichy Government, and that for the same reasons which made Egypt keep them up. That the relations between Egypt and Vichy had no bearing whatsoever on Egyptian policy, but was determined solely in relation to the interest of the Allies, is clearly evidenced from the fact that the expedition against the Vichyites in Syria and Lebanon was equipped in and launched from Egypt, with the moral and material assistance of the Egyptians. Free France in fact made Egypt an important base for its activities and its war and political attacks against the Vichy Government, with the approval and encouragement of the Egyptian Government.

THE WHOLE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE WORKED AND SACRIFICED FOR THE ALLIES:

Modern warfare is not limited to armies in the field, but goes beyond that to a people's total war effort. It goes without saying that America helped in winning the war right here in America, keeping the lines of communication open long before she entered the war formally on the side of the Allies. Even after America declared war, her war efforts at home equalled, if they did not surpass the efforts of its armed forces on the battle fields. America came to be known as the "arsenal of democracy" just because of those diversified activities of its home front.

Likewise Egypt, fed about three million military and civilian persons in addition to her own population, in spite of the fact that at the outbreak of war all chemical fertilizers, on which Egyptian agriculture depends so much, was completely cut off from Egypt. Egypt bore its burden cheerfully. The planting of cotton, a lucrative crop for Egypt and the mainstay of the Egyptian national wealth, was discontinued. In its place wheat and other grains were sown to supply the Allies with food. Nor was the dwelling shortage any less serious than the food shortage. Egyptian homes were given up to accomodate Allied personnel, and even schools and public parks were utilized for the benefit of the Allied forces. These included the British, the Australians, South Africans and Indians, and later Americans. It is enough to mention here Payne airfield, the well known American base in Cairo, which was built in a few weeks, thanks to the heroic effort of the Egyptian workmen. We could name tens of war projects of equal importance.

In Egypt, too, were the Free French, with their military forces and their various committees!

And there were the Poles, with their various contingents.

And there was the King of Jugoslavia, with his ministers and his armies!

And there was the King of Greece, too, with his armies and ministers!

It is a base charge, therefore, which the authors of the pamphlet make when they say that the King of Greece was made to leave Egypt, because his stay was in violation of international usage. For it is well known that the King of Greece's stay in Egypt lasted more than two years, and that he left it only to go to England. One of his first acts upon his return to Greece was to write a letter to the Egyptian Government in which he expressed his gratitude to Egypt for its hospitality, and for receiving him and his armies throughout the war. These are the facts, but it seems some people cannot bear the light of truth and prefer to live in the pale of lies.

THE ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY:

Now we come to the role which the Egyptian army played in this last war, and I will show the reader how this army participated actually with the British on all fronts, as Mr. Churchill in fact admits when he said:

> **"Egyptian troops have during the war played an important part. They have maintained order throughout the Delta, they have guarded many strong points and depots . . . "**

Behind these words is an interesting story. It is a well known fact that it was the Egyptian army which kept the Suez Canal open to international trade throughout the war. The Egyptian army performed its duty in a manner which amazed the British and the military observers. Along the whole length of the Canal, Egyptian soldiers braved certain death during the air attacks of the enemy, especially when those soldiers had to determine exactly where unexploded bombs fell and where mines were laid in order to take them out and detonate them before they explode and cause the blocking of the Canal. And when we realize that the closing of the Canal was one of the most cherished hopes of the Axis, we will understand how important the task entrusted to the Egyptian army was, and how brave the Egyptian soldiers.

THE STAND OF THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE IN THE ALAMEIN CRISIS:

The world has not yet sufficiently appreciated the proud role which the Egyptian people themselves played in the crisis of al-Alemein. This alone should win for them the gratitude of all lovers of democracy. Had that role been different, the course of the war itself would have changed, and surely the English would have lost that battle and, with it, Egypt and the whole Middle East. Indeed the war itself might have been lost for the Allies! By their poise and fortitude the Egyptian

people saved the day. One of the causes which led to the disintegratin of the western front in the early stages of the war was the panic which overtook the civilian populations in France, Belgium and Holland as the invading hordes neared their towns and villages and as those civilians saw their own soldiers falling back. They rushed into the open highways with their children, with their possessions piled up in carriages and wagons blocking the military communications. It is this fear which gripped the French people, causing them to drop their work. Chaos reigned everywhere, making possible for the enemy to accomplish more than he had hoped to do, had the civilian population exercised more self-control, stuck to their places and kept working at their jobs.

Little do Americans realize that the same self-control and coolness which won the English people the admiration of the whole world, following the fall of France, when the German air attacks were mounting in intensity, was matched in Egypt by the conduct of the Egyptian people in the crisis of al-Alamein. Everything pointed to impending catastrophe and certain destruction. While some of the Jews in Egypt were selling their possessions and businesses to escape with their souls, and while English civilians blocked the railway stations, awaiting their turn to pull out, orders were given to the Egyptian forces stationed at bridges and road stations to be ready to blow them in order to cover the retreat of the British armies. At the very moment when the British forces were evacuating the northern part of Cairo moving southward and when the British Broadcasting station from London was announcing that German paratroops may drop down on Cairo any minute—at that memorable and fearful hour, not one Egyptian was terror-stricken. The Egyptians remained undisturbed, each going about his essential work. Not one official deserted his office, not one laborer stopped work. All the trains left their stations on time, even the trains that were ordered to proceed to the front to carry back the wounded did not hesitate one minute. Not one telephone line was put out of

order. The Egyptian police and the Egyptian armed forces went about their routine as though everything was normal. Egyptian war efforts clicked with the precision of a clock.

In fact nothing worried the British more than to think what the attitude of the Egyptians might be at such an hour. This disturbed every Englishman in Egypt, big and small. When the crisis did come, how surprised the English were to find the Egyptian people exercising the same coolness and displaying the same impressive discipline as the English themselves would have displayed under the same conditions! The behavior of the Egyptians was contagious and soon the English felt at ease and began to concentrate on organizing their lines. At that crucial moment the British desired nothing more than an atmosphere of order and quiet which would enable them to organize their forces and receive the reinforcements which America was beginning to deliver across the seven seas. For at that time America sent instructions to all its ships which were carrying supplies and reinforcements to the eastern and to the western theatres of war to hasten with all their cargoes to Egypt. Rommel, who had reached the end of his course, made his last stand at Al-Alemein and there met his Waterloo. It was, too, the end of Germany herself. Its back protected by Egypt, England made a supreme effort and brought about Rommel's defeat and ultimately that of the whole Axis.

In face of all this, it was simply impossible for the English not to acknowledge the splendid part played by the Egyptians. This explains the official statements of their ministers, generals and newspaper men to this effect. Egypt was showered with expressions of praise and admiration.

Dr. Alexander, a South African lawyer, speaking at a banquet in London, on March 25, 1943, praised the Egyptian spirit and character. He said that when the Axis armies were but 70 miles from Alexandria, Egypt maintained its steadiness and faithfulness in spite of tremendous pressure. Axis broadcasts and propaganda were pouring into Egypt from all direc-

tions, making glittering promises, but the country stood firm. Had Egypt adopted a hostile attitude at that critical time, Dr. Alexander pointed out, the entire scale of events might have tipped in another direction.

Again when Mustapha Pasha El-Nahas, then Prime Minister, wired Mr. Churchill his congratulations on the victory of the Eighth Army, Mr. Churchill cabled:

> **"I still remember with admiration the spirit of firmness shown by both the Government and the Nation when the danger was at its utmost, and I know to what extent it was inspired by your personal courage and confidence in the victory of the United Nations."**

WAR TACTICS PREVENTED EGYPT FROM DECLARING WAR:

Some may still ask, if Egypt expended so much energy in the prosecution of the war what prevented it from formally declaring war on the Axis? This innuendo is implied in the whole tenor of the pamphlet. Our reply is simply to refer the reader again to the Churchill passage in which a war secret was revealed, namely that England herself asked Egypt not to declare war formally on the Axis. His words are crystal clear:

> **"We did not press the Egyptian Government at any time to come into the war AND INDEED UPON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION IN THE PAST OUR ADVICE HAS BEEN TO THE CONTRARY."**

Since England was the one responsible in the first place for the conduct of the war, it was natural for Egypt to listen to the advice of the British military authorities, especially when we remember that is was a decidedly military advantage for Egypt to keep up that policy. It may be said in passing that the Axis respected Egypt's formal neutrality, even when

Egypt was in fact fighting the Axis. For this reason the Luftwaffe did not make air raids on the populous Egyptian cities or civilian objectives, as we would have been expected. This gave the English the golden opportunity to convert Egypt, particularly Cairo, into a military center for the whole Middle East, in an atmosphere of quiet and security, which was all the English wanted. Had the enemy planes attacked Cairo and the other Egyptian cities Egypt's war efforts would have suffered considerably, if not completely disrupted. As a consequence Egypt could not have been used as a military base. Furthermore, Egypt would not have been able to deliver the assistance to the Allies which it did. Mr. Churchill understood this well when he said:

> **"There were evident advantages in sparing the populous and famous city of Cairo from wholesale bombardment."**

This then is the true reason why Egypt did not formally declare war on the Axis, although Egypt was actually in the war from the first day it was declared as we said before. And this is the role which it played in winning the war. How amazing that some should try to bury all this with an avalanche of lies! We are grateful, for one thing however, and that is that their palpabile lies have given us the opportunity to bring the truth to public notice. For of old the Arab poet said:

> *"When God wishes to unfurl a virtue hidden,*
> *He sets against it an envious tongue!"*

EGYPT IS A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY:

The pamphlet refers to certain persons in the Egyptian Government and in the ranks of the opposition as anti-British. To be anti-British, however, is something and to be allied to the Axis is another, and to be an enemy of democracy is something else still.

It is obstinate for some to deny the effective help given

by the Egyptians because certain individuals said thus and thus or did so and so, or because voices were lifted up in parliament in protest or objection against certain acts or conduct of the government.

Egypt is a democratic country, ruled by a constitutional government with duly elected parliament. It is of the essence of parliaments to have different political parties and opposition to the government within the parliament. What happened in Egypt during the war did not differ from what happened in all neutral democratic countries, where some were for their country's entry in the war and some against it. In the Union of South Africa the parliament was divided into two groups, one supporting Smuts and the other Herzog, who opposed his country's entry in the war on the side of the British. Smuts won by a small margin.

And here in the United States, had it not been for the treacherous Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor there would still have existed a party within Congress strongly opposing America's entry in the war, probably with Lindbergh at its head. It is a most natural thing for a neutral country to hesitate before joining another nation in a war with which it is not directly involved. In a free country nobody is prosecuted and punished for expressing such opposition even after war is declared. After all, those who oppose war are free citizens and have the right to express their opinions up to the last day of neutrality. In Egypt, however, everyone who had urged that Egypt remain neutral unless England recognizes the independence and unity of the Nile, was put in concentration camps, without trial or due process of law. Ali Maher Pasha, who rendered such invaluable service to the British, as Churchill himself admitted later, was rewarded by arrest, along with Salih Pasha Harb and Aziz Pasha al-Misri. This was done at the instigation of the British ambassador, a personal enemy of Ali Maher Pasha, and the Egyptian government then in power complied, not wishing to make of this an

issue during the war.

YOUNG EGYPT PARTY:

It was the fate of this writer also to be among the first to be arrested during the war because of their patriotism and struggle for the liberty of their country. The English did not dare to prefer any charge against me or to bring me to trial, because they knew well that I would come out of any court a free and honored man. I was put in a concentration camp for three years without a chance to defend myself in court, no specific charges having been brought against me. To justify their illegal act they caused it to be rumored about that I was the leading fascist in Egypt, a false accusation readily echoed by the authors of the pamphlet.

It did not occur to me when I came to this country to make of my own person an issue in the press. I did not care to publicize my name, but to defend my country. It is with reluctance, therefore, that I am now writing in my own defense, especially when I have been attacked by a respectable writer who, I am sure, got his information about me indirectly and by innuendo.

I have struggled for my country for fifteen years, and am still doing so, and ready to do more, to the last drop of blood in my veins and to the last ounce of energy. During these fifteen years hardly a day passed in which I did not write an article for the press or deliver a speech. I challenge anyone to pick out a single paragraph which would be characterized as fascistic. On the contrary, there was no one in Egypt who opposed fascism more vigorously. None had the distinction of attacking Italy and its *duce* or Germany and its *fuehrer*, more pointedly. In 1933, the year the Young Egypt Party was founded, I was the first to warn Egypt of the Italian danger which surrounded Egypt, and of the various projects and designs which Mussolini sponsored in his dream of reviving the Roman Empire. One of these was to bring Egypt into Italy's

orbit of influence. I demanded military preparedness for Egypt in order that it might be in a position to face the Italian danger. As a result the English authorities demanded my trial. I was actually brought to court where I defended myself in a memorable speech in which I attacked Mussolini and Italy and the fascist threat to Egypt. Fortunately I have this speech in my possession, and am willing to show it to anyone who wishes to read it or translate it. I am not taking this as an opportunity to boast of what I did, but it is the truth that I warned of the Italian danger years before others saw it. Again, in 1934, I went to Italy on a short tour, lasting but four days. On my return I wrote a series of articles in which I bitterly attacked Italy and said then that fascism is like an empty drum, full of air but makes a lot of noise, and that it was knit to Mussolini as long as he was alive, but that it will die as soon as he dies. This time it was Italy which protested formally to the Egyptian Government against those articles, and since the English were on friendly terms with Italy I was again brought to trial on the charge of insulting the Italian State. Curiously enough this case was put off from time to time for ten whole years because the Egyptian courts were reluctant to prosecute. Finally the case was dropped because of the statute of limitations. I am also fortunate that I have in my possession copies of those articles. Still once more, in 1938, at the height of the Munich debacle, I had returned from a European tour in which I had visited, among other countries, Germany. I wrote a series of editorials for my newspaper, *Young Egypt,* in which I accused Hitler of continually threatening the world that unless he is given what he wants he will plunge it in war, and that he was a gangster and highwayman, terrorizing people and robbing them of their money. The editorials were considered an attack on the head of a friendly State, and they were called to the attention of the Egyptian Government. The Nazis, however, stopped there and did not press the matter.

In June, 1939, at the height of Hitler's power, I sent him an open letter in Arabic and French which caused much stir

then. In it I contrasted Hitler's teachings with those of Islam, and how the two differ fundamentally. I warned Hitler that his fate will be utter annihilation for himself and for Germany if he did not stop persecuting the Jews and unless he left them alone in peace, and if he did not give up his insane ambition to dominate the whole world. The editorials and the open letter were kept by the Nazis and held against me, as I learned from private sources. When the Germans drew close to Egypt, and it was feared they may invade Egypt itself, I was held in a concentration camp, and was afraid that I would fall an easy prey in the hands of the Nazis, so I ran away from the camp in June, 1942. At that very time some of my personal enemies in Egypt were collecting my articles in order to bring them to the attention of the Nazis.

This, in brief, is an account of my attitude to Italian fascism or German nazism, backed by documentary evidence which I carry with me. I challenge anyone to disprove any of the statemens I mentioned above.

As for the principles of the Young Egypt Party, whose leadership I have the honor to assume, they may be realized from the fact that it was the first Egyptian party which made "respect for all religions and races" one of its fundamental tenets. Our third tenet reads: "Pray to God. Go to your worshipping place on Friday if you are a Moslem, and on Sunday if you are a Christian and on Saturday if you are a Jew." We place Judaism on equal footing with Islam, the religion of the huge majority in Egypt, because we believe that all religions merge in one point—that all men live together in peace, cooperation and brotherhood.

Young Egypt Party fights for the freedom of the Egyptians as a nation, and as individuals. For we believe in freedom as we believe in life itself. We hold it that man is not man unless he is free, and because he was born free. We want to be free that we may bring freedom to others, not to enslave them. It is indeed preposterous to call us fascists, and that we

be accused of being fascists by those who would enslave us and who would use brutal force to keep us down and rob us of our freedom. Is not fascism an acute form of imperialism? Is it not racial and religious fanaticism in their acute form? If one wishes to look for fascism, let him look among those who work day and night to enslave other peoples; let him look for it in the ranks of the reactionaries who would take us back thousands of years to proclaim to the world a new nationalism which rests on religion and which essays to establish itself by force.

AN APPEAL TO AMERICANS:

I have come to you armed only with faith in God and the Truth. I have come to you backed neither by authority nor by money. I have come to you backed by the aspirations of a whole nation, with confidence and hope that it will receive justice at your hands. Let not false propaganda mislead you, to screen the truth from you, the simple, clear truth, namely that one of the nations of the earth, with a glorious history behind it, with a population of more than eighteen millions, who together with the Sudanese number 25,000,000, demand the withdrawal of the British forces from the Valley of the Nile. This, they firmly believe, is the only way for effectively raising the standard of living among this large number of human beings who had been denied the normal means of progress and welfare, due mainly to foreign occupation of their country.

British evacuation is the only way to stem the rising tide of communistic influence through the Valley of the Nile. It is much to be feared that the Egyptian and Sudanese people, to escape the much hated regime of occupation, may throw their lot with the communists who are making their wide appeal to the dissatisfied people of the Arab world.

Finally, this evacuation is the only means to secure peace

throughout the world. There will be no peace as long as there is a trace of the spirit of imperialism in a country of ancient and noble history as Egypt.

It is now up to you, American people whether you wish to see justice and peace in the Valley of the Nile, and thus help in the progress of mankind.

AHMAD HUSSEIN
LEADER OF THE YOUNG EGYPT PARTY
COMMODORE HOTEL
New York City

AHMAD HUSSEIN is sponsored by the Young Egypt Party, Misr al Fatat, Cairo, Egypt and is so registered at the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., where copies of this material are being filed and where the registration statement of Ahmad Hussein is available for inspection. The fact of registration does not indicate approval by the United States Government of the control of this material.

AHMAD HUSSEIN
Commodore Hotel
Room 2335
New York, N. Y.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

"The Egyptian Government have, we feel, acted rightly and wisely in deciding to declare war on Germany and Japan and to sign the United Nations declaration. We did not press the Egyptian Government at any time to come into the war, and indeed upon more than one occasion in the past our advice has been to the contrary. There were evident advantages in sparing the populous and famous city of Cairo from wholesale bombardment and we have been content with the attitude of Egypt as a co-belligerent. Egyptian troops have during the war played an important part. They have maintained order throughout the Delta, they have guarded many strong points and depots, and in all kinds of ways they have been of assistance to our war effort, wich was once again proved successful in shielding the fertile land of the delta from the shock of the foreign invader. We have had every facility from Egypt under our treaty of alliance, and successive Egyptian prime ministers and governments have given us support in the manner which we deemed to be the most effective. Egypt is an associated power and she should take her rightful place as a future member of the world organization and as one of its founders when the occasion is reached at San Francisco at the end of April."

From Churchill's speech to the House of Commons, February 27, 1945, on the results of the Yalta Conference.

"Now that our efforts in North Africa have come to a successful conclusion, I would like to thank you for the collaboration and assistance given to the military authorities during our campaign in Libya. The great assistance rendered by the Egyptian army have made easier for the Empire armies under my command the task of defending Egypt against the aggression of the enemy."

General Wavell, on January 28, 1941 to Egyptian Premier.

Egypt and the War:

The declaration of war by Italy was of direct concern to Egypt, which had a common frontier with the Italian North African colonies. The Egyptian Government, however, did not reply with a counter-declaration of war but contented itself with the severence of diplomatic relations. It allowed the Italian diplomatic corps and some thirty-five other Italian nationals to leave Egyptian territory unescorted. The British request to have their documents examined was not acceded to by Ali Maher, then the Egyptian Prime Minister. Numbers of Italians in Egypt were interned, but one suspected spy was granted Egyptian citizenship (he was an official at the Egyptian Royal Court). The pro-Italian tendencies of King Faruk were well-known—it was not without reason that Victor Emmanuel when deposed chose to live in Egypt.

A similar attitude was maintained by Egypt towards Vichy France. The Egyptian Government broke off diplomatic relations in 1942, only as a result of British pressure.

Hostility was shown towards political refugees who escaped to Egypt from German-occupied countries. When King George of Greece reached Egypt, the Government submitted to a German ultimatum and forced him to leave, even though such action was not obligatory by international law.

The anti-British and pro-Fascist sympathies of the Egyptian Court were well-known to the public in Egypt and in Arab countries. Anti-British sentiment ran high in the Egyptian press. The Egyptian Parliament also took up an aggressively anti-British attitude. Not infrequently anti-British allegations levelled in the Egyptian Parliament and press were those broadcast the night before by the Arabic radio of Berlin or Rome, Bari or Athens. The British were accused of eating up the supplies of the country and causing starvation among the poor, despite the fact that hundreds of millions of pounds sterling were spent by the British in Egypt (in military construction, etc.) and that thousands of starving fellaheen were employed and paid high wages by the British Army. Some 350,000,000 pounds — almost one and a half billion dollars — were spent by the Allies in Egypt during the war. Yet, the British were blamed even for the Egyptian cotton crisis despite the fact that had they not purchased the entire crop—and at a price forced up in the bargaining—not a bale would have been sold. They were

released in 1944 and 1945.

As for Aziz Ali al-Masri, his dsmissal had long been demanded by the British authorities. All that Ali Maher had done was to give him a protracted leave. Al-Masri came into the limelight again on May 12, 1941, during the anti-British coup in Iraq, when he attemped to reach the Axis lines in an Egyptian plane. He made a forced landing on Egyptian territory, whereupon he was at last arrested. He was released in 1945, but re-arrested in January, 1946, in connection with the assassination of Amin Osman Pasha. Al Masri was not the only one. A military trial was held recently of an officer of the Royal Egyptian Air Force, Salim Radwan, who with his friend Muhamad Abu as-Saud, flew to the Axis camp in an Egyptian airplane on July 7, 1942. Salim was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment; his friend has not yet been traced.

It is common knowledge that in February, 1942, the British had to use force to compel the Egyptian court to appoint a Government from which some measure of loyalty to the British cause might be expected. According to a description of the events of that time later published in Akhbar el Yom, British tanks with their guns trained, surrounded the Abdin Palace, and thousands of fully armed troops patrolled the neighborhood. One tank forced the palace gate and was followed by the British Ambassador, Lord Killearn, and the Commander of British troops in Egypt. The Royal bodyguard was overpowered, and fully armed officers accompanied the Ambassador to the King's study. The Palace telephone lines were cut, while police stations and the broadcasting station were surrounded by the British. While the palace was still besieged, the King summoned party leaders and elder statesmen and declared: "You have seen the British tanks. I think you will therefore agree that it is in the country's interest to accept the ultimatum for a change of government." Nahas Pasha was then called to form a new Government. He stated later: "Those who were then in power were convinced of the Axis victory and backed the wrong horse. Relations with the British had become strained in the extreme. There were street demonstrations against England with crowds shouting 'Forward Rommel!' "

Though, like his predecessors, he did not have his country declare war on the Axis, Nahas Pasha succeeded in preventing assaults on British officers and soldiers, and in putting an end to acts of sabotage against lines of communcation, but even this he achieved only by arresting and detaining hundreds of

WHOM WOULD YOU BELIEVE?

Let the reader compare this passage, which is reproduced literally, with the words from the official speech by Churchill and Wavell with which we prefaced our reply. I leave it to the American people to choose which to believe, Churchill who led the English nation throughout the war, who headed the English Government which was dealing with Egypt, or those whose main aim is to incite the Amreican people against the Arabs, thinking that in so doing they will successfully help their own cause. I could have stopped here, content with this refutation from the official words of Churchill, but I wish to discuss the question at more length to enlighten the reader on the particular conditions and circumstances which gave rise to the false accusations levelled against my country, my party and me personally.

NATURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ENGLAND:

It is impossible to have a correct perspective of this whole question without a bird's eye view of the relations between Egypt and England, and that they were not the relations of an ally with an ally, but those of a usurper with one usurped. Egypt is the most ancient country in the world. Its civilization goes back to the dawn of history. In the nineteenth century Egypt took heroic steps to keep up with the progress of the world. The digging of the Suez Canal, which linked the West with the East, was a manifestation of this awakening. No sooner the Suez Canal was ready for use, however, than England decided to get hold of it and to occupy Egypt. In 1882 England found the right opportunity to accomplish its end when the Egyptian people rose against their government demanding certain constitutional reforms. This revolt resulted in a divsion among the people. The English took advantage of this opportunity and landed in Egypt on the pretext of establishing peace and order and then withdrawing without

REVOLT OF 1919:

Egypt demanded anew its right to liberty and independence, a natural right backed now by new promises and pledges made by the English themselves in compliance with the Wilsonian principles. England, however, discarded all this after the war. She countered the aroused feelings of the Egyptians with steel and fire, arresting their leaders and shooting down their young men. As a result, the revolt of 1919 broke out. It took the English until 1922 to quell that revolt. In that year they declared the termination of the protectorate over Egypt, recognizing it as a sovereign state with a constitution, a parliament and diplomatic representation abroad.

This superficial change, however, although it succeeded in putting down the revolt and the confusion which followed, did not affect the fundamental issue, which was the evacuation of Egypt and the Sudan. The struggle between Egypt and England started all over again, waxing at times and then waning under the pressure of force and terrorism, until in 1935 the boiler of Egyptian wrath burst once more, and another revolt in the land threathened the English, who hastened to quell it by making a treaty with Egypt carrying out some of the aims and demands of the Egyptian people.

THE TREATY OF 1936:

England finally succeeded in concluding a treaty with Egypt in which the English pledged to withdraw from the mainland of Egypt after eigth years from the signing of the treaty, and that they will make their stay in designated spots in the Canal zone thereafter for another period of twelve years. In exchange Egypt would become an ally in time of peace, promising not to follow a policy contrary to England, and that in case of war Egypt will extend England all possible assistance, including the placing of its means of communi-

be accomplished except by a victory of the English. But England did nothing of the sort. She closed her ears against any plea of this nature. On the contrary, she considered any discussion of the complete independence of Egypt or the unity of the Nile after the war as a hostile act against her, and as an act of friendship with the Axis. She looked upon every word in favor of independence with malice and suspicion.

It was fortunate for Egypt to have had at that time a ministry of patriotic men, headed by Ali Maher Pasha, and composed of such men as Salih Harb Pasha, Abdul-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Aziz al-Misri Pasha, and others who had distinguished themselves in their defense of the freedom of Egypt and Sudan. It was also unfortunate for Egypt that at the same time a British reactionary, who believed in the tradition of pomp and show of force, was the one to represent Britain in Cairo. He took advantage of the war to impose his personal will on Egypt, doing great harm to the Anglo-Egyptian relations which were not at their best under the circumstances.

This was the true situation between England and Egypt during the second world war. It was a situation which would have called for open enmity against England, even declaration of war. But Egypt, on the contrary, was of greatest help to England in winning its immortal victory at Alamein, as we shall presently see from a survey of some of Egypt's war efforts, as summarized by Mr. Churchill in the opening paragraph of this paper.

BREAKING OFF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY:

No sooner was the war declared between England and Germany, on the 3rd of September, 1939, than Egypt broke off her relations with Germany—on the 4th of September, 1939, exactly twenty-four hours after the war was declared. This was more than some of the dominions did, following suit only after a considerable time, as in the case of South

prison doors were opened wide to receive those whom the British authorities wished to thrust there, not only aliens or enemies, but Egyptians themselves.

ITALY DECLARES WAR:

Until Italy entered the war, there was no fighting in Egypt itself or on its western borders, or anywhere near it. Nevertheless Egypt went ahead with its preparations. It was thought that Italy would immediately attack Egypt and invade it. Egypt was prepared to repulse Italian aggression. But Mussolini surprised the world then when he announced that in the case of certain countries adjoining Italy, he will not attack them unless they attacked first. Egypt eventually was one of those countries designated. Here the whole war situation changed completely, demanding a new policy. The English, who were hardest pressed after the fall of France, had not completed their military preparations for the defense of Egypt and had not hoped to receive reinforcements in any near future. England was busy day and night arming its home defense to protect herself, threatened as she was by sudden attacks every hour. It was not to anyone's interest to fan the flame of war in Africa, nor was Egypt itself prepared to wage a modern war, thanks to the English policy which always stood in the way of Egypt's desire to have an adequate army and adequate defense. These circumstances, taken altogether, explain why Egypt was in no hurry to declare war on Italy directly, and that it was best for Egypt to have postponed its declaration of war.

NEVERTHELESS . . .

Even though Egypt did not formally declare war on Italy, she declared it in fact, when she broke off diplomatic relations with her. It is therefore not worthy of our attention to reply to the charge in the anti-Arab pamphlet that Egypt

BREAKING OFF RELATIONS WITH VICHY:

Nothing, however, displays the ignorance and contradictions in the pamphlet more than when its authors try to deride Egypt for its failure to break off relations with the Vichy Government, claiming that Egypt only did so finally under pressure by the British. The truth is those relations remained intact purposely in the interest of the British themselves, and were finally broken off when there was no further need of keeping them up. The authors seem to have forgottn that the United States, after it entered the war, kept up its diplomatic relations with the Vichy Government, and that for the same reasons which made Egypt keep them up. That the relations between Egypt and Vichy had no bearing whatsoever on Egyptian policy, but was determined solely in relation to the interest of the Allies, is clearly evidenced from the fact that the expedition against the Vichyites in Syria and Lebanon was equipped in and launched from Egypt, with the moral and material assistance of the Egyptians. Free France in fact made Egypt an important base for its activities and its war and political attacks against the Vichy Government, with the approval and encouragement of the Egyptian Government.

THE WHOLE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE WORKED AND SACRIFICED FOR THE ALLIES:

Modern warfare is not limited to armies in the field, but goes beyond that to a people's total war effort. It goes without saying that America helped in winning the war right here in America, keeping the lines of communication open long before she entered the war formally on the side of the Allies. Even after America declared war, her war efforts at home equalled, if they did not surpass the efforts of its armed forces on the battle fields. America came to be known as the "arsenal of democracy" just because of those diversified activities of its home front.

THE ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY:

Now we come to the role which the Egyptian army played in this last war, and I will show the reader how this army participated actually with the British on all fronts, as Mr. Churchill in fact admits when he said:

> **"Egyptian troops have during the war played an important part. They have maintained order throughout the Delta, they have guarded many strong points and depots . . . "**

Behind these words is an interesting story. It is a well known fact that it was the Egyptian army which kept the Suez Canal open to international trade throughout the war. The Egyptian army performed its duty in a manner which amazed the British and the military observers. Along the whole length of the Canal, Egyptian soldiers braved certain death during the air attacks of the enemy, especially when those soldiers had to determine exactly where unexploded bombs fell and where mines were laid in order to take them out and detonate them before they explode and cause the blocking of the Canal. And when we realize that the closing of the Canal was one of the most cherished hopes of the Axis, we will understand how important the task entrusted to the Egyptian army was, and how brave the Egyptian soldiers.

THE STAND OF THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE IN THE ALAMEIN CRISIS:

The world has not yet sufficiently appreciated the proud role which the Egyptian people themselves played in the crisis of al-Alemein. This alone should win for them the gratitude of all lovers of democracy. Had that role been different, the course of the war itself would have changed, and surely the English would have lost that battle and, with it, Egypt and the whole Middle East. Indeed the war itself might have been lost for the Allies! By their poise and fortitude the Egyptian